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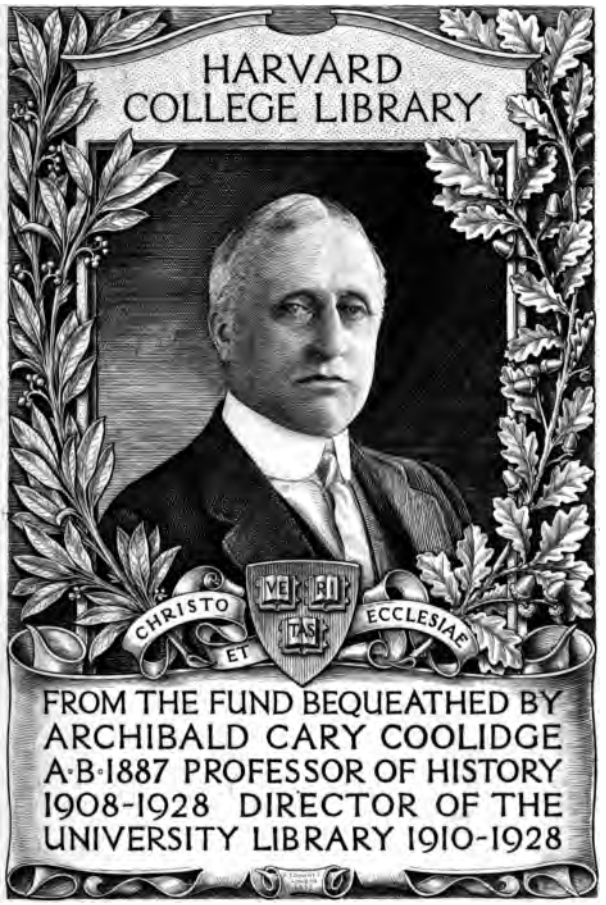
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CHINESE

FOREIGN POLICY.

BY

REV. JOHN ROSS,

NEWCHWANG.

SHANGHAI:
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CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY.

THE conquest of the "Middle Kingdom" by the early Chinese settlers, like the planting of the English colonies in America, Australia, and New Zealand, was by the ploughshare rather than by the sword. For they too found other races before them, the Miao and the Man, the Di and the Yi, who occupied the hills for the hunt and the plains for their flocks. But if they ploughed valley after valley and got possession of hillside after hillside, producing food for hundreds where their savage predecessors could scarcely feed units, they had from the first to protect with the sword the produce of the plough. If they have steadily and rapidly increased both in population and in the acreage reclaimed by their industry, they have never been able to lay aside the sword, for their nomad neighbours on all sides much preferred taking the grain for the granary to the toil of tillage. And only a study of her history can show how often China has had to bend her neck to the bondage of men who passed most of their lives in the saddle and knew nothing of the steady labour of the farm.

Away from her side, she has seen around her from Japan to India for thirty centuries only barbarians ignorant of phi-

losophy, destitute of literature and learning civilization only by contact with her. Not once but a dozen times has the defeated Greece of the East taught the victorious Romans. And the intellectual pride which is so offensive to our foreign taste, is only natural to one who has during that period always lent and never borrowed. Other peoples could wield a defter sword, but she has not known that nation which could command so graceful and dexterous a pen. It is only recently that foreigners, possessing so many hundred-fold greater learning, have attempted to make it available to her by giving some attention to style, and any one reading the graceful flow of the native pen need not be astonished if the Chinese up to the present have despised the stilted and uncouth style dictated by the foreigner. Not that she is unwilling to learn; she has not had the means. There is scarcely one in a myriad of Chinese scholars who has had any reason to be convinced of the greater philosophical research and literary ability of western nations, though they have long acknowledged, because they have had ocular proof of, the superiority of western mechanical skill. Thus her literary pride is easily accounted for, and instead of decrying it let those who can, help those who have begun to remove it, by teaching her greater learning than she knows and higher truths than she is possessed of.

Because she has been the most diligent cultivator of the soil in Eastern Asia she has been and is by far the most wealthy nation. She has therefore never known any nation outside her borders, which was not actuated by the desire, always carried out when possible, of filling their lean purses with her full ones. Her conquests have therefore been as a rule purely defensive, and instigated by frequent attempts on the part of her defeated few to plunder her treasures and take possession of her soil. If the present dynasty and the

people under it are in mortal dread of foreign annexation it is only because they have never known a country with the power, which had not the desire to rule over China. If they are now afraid of Europeans so were their forefathers of other nations, the Han of Hwingnoo, the Wei of Zowzan (Yow-yan), the Tang of Doojue (Doogue) the Sung of Liao and Kin, and the Ming of Mongols. If therefore the experience of the ages teaches, Chinese experience proves conclusively that no outside country and no foreign people can seek her borders without designs upon her freedom.

China's first contact with western nations did not tend to create respect for their character, for, from what is known of the ancient traders, they appear to have been often enough ready to sell pounds of principle for ounces of silver. She began to fear designs on her territory about two centuries ago as will be seen below. She has since then had occasion greatly to increase her estimate of western power, and she is now ready to submit to almost any humiliation rather than risk a war which she knows will be certain defeat. She has learned to dread the prowess of the west, as her ancient dynasties the northern hordes, but she has not yet acquired the knowledge of the immense superiority of those principles actuating foreign governments. The Chinese are ignorant of Christianity. They are unacquainted with its power, beginning to be felt in moulding the foreign as well as the domestic policy of western powers, and which will soon classify wars of mere conquest with the free-booting, marauding baron of the middle ages and the private individual robber of earlier times, each of whom believed it right enough to take possession of what did not belong to him. If then we feel offended, we need not be astonished if the Chinese regard us as their fathers did the Mongols, and it is no great wonder if

they believe that wars are levied against them only because of the indemnity to be paid after the war is over. They believe, and all their bitterly conservative and exclusive foreign policy is based on the belief, that western nations are bent on seizing the treasuries of their cities and the lands of their beautiful valleys.

It is vain to reason that foreign nations, could take possession of her land on any month of any year they chose. It is useless to explain that foreign nations wish only to be her friends and have no other desire than to see her strong and prosperous. She will not believe, for all her long past history proclaims the reverse. If you argue that such a belief is absurd after the various wars, which always laid her naked at the feet of the foreigner, and more especially the last war which saw her capital under foreign arms and her Emperor a fugitive, the sage politician will still shake his head and persist in believing that there were other reasons for retiring from Peking, besides the ostensible ones. And what could be this true reason? "The knowledge by the "allied powers of the universal hostility against them in the "hearts of all the Chinese people, there being no native party "to welcome them, as there always has been in every dynas- "tic change. They saw the time for seizing China was not "yet come. They retired, but only to bide their time. "They departed, but only after they took important measures "to create a foreign party in China to receive them on their "return. They are now preparing their armies, laying their "measures, creating a foreign party, and when ready, they "will seek for and seize the merest pretext for proclaiming "war,—a war which will be a short, sharp, terrible struggle "in which the present dynasty will be cracked up like an "eggshell, and which will leave China plundered as she

"never was before". Such is the universal belief of intelligent Chinese, whatever they say, or however they may attempt to hide it.

It is not true that the present Manchu Government hates foreigners more than a native one would, nor is it true that the common people love foreigners more than the magistrate does; nor again is it true that mob violence is instigated by the magistrate, though it may be true that he does not always do even what he could to restrain it. Manchu hate of the foreigner is nothing like that of the blue-blooded Chinamen's and no one dreads the effects of mob-violence against foreigners as the magistrate does, though I believe that in heart he is one with the mob, not because he is a magistrate but because he is a Chinaman. I have heard it stated on the best authority that after the Tientsin massacre, the highest officials in the land were in a state of terror day and night, and the reader following the above rapid sketch of the present basis of Chinese foreign policy will understand the reason. Mobs are however above the law, for though the Chinese are, in ordinary circumstances, perhaps the most easily governed of all nations, when their passions are thoroughly roused there is no controlling them.

Do people who clamour against the tardiness and conservatism of the Chinese government know to what they are driving? Are they aware that it is as impossible for a government to stand in China as it is in England, without the good will, based on the respect of the people? and that the present dynasty has lost enormously in native esteem because of the numerous concessions made to the ever increasing demands of foreigners? The central government labours under the disadvantage of being a small foreign nation ruling over a large one, and ruling by means of respect for past bravery

and present possession, rather than from a belief in their continued skill in arms. The government is therefore between two fires, dread of seriously offending the foreigner and dread of alienating their own subjects. Every act, every measure of theirs which tends to remove popular esteem is a "nail in their coffin". There are many such now, and foreigners know that the dynasty is reeling on the throne, the unintentional result of foreign action in China. The consequence is that the Chinese people are now in that disintegrated state, out of which revolutions are made, and which requires only a man of power with a good catch-word to blaze out in shot and slaughter at any moment. This is certainly no reason why the ruling powers should refuse to do the right, but it is every reason why foreigners should demand only what is strictly just, and what it would be proper to ask of, say, France or Germany. That the lamentable murder of the promising young official Mr. Margary was political, no thinking person can doubt, for it is almost certain that the Yunnan people believed him gone to and returned from India, not to open a trade route, but to discover the best road for an army, and his small military escort would lend colouring to such a belief; but I will believe the man in the moon as guilty of instigating that murder as the Peking Central Government, for it dreads too sincerely a foreign war to run any risk of provoking it. And that which it dreads next to foreign war is an apparently too liberal and ready yielding to foreign demands, for every instance of such yielding is a loss of prestige, and to the Manchus prestige is everything.

I have pointed out what the belief is which forms the basis of the foreign policy of China and shown the dilemma in which this belief places the Central Government. In connex-

ion with the same subject some queries demand reply. The Chinese are one of the most practical of peoples. They are keenly alive to whatever affects their material interests. Magistrate and coolie, scholar and boor are at one in the eager desire to be rich. A fair proportion of the literary men know somewhat of the greater wealth and power of western nations, and many are not unacquainted with the causes thereof. There is not one who hears of them, who does not comprehend the advantages to China of coal mines and railways. But though foreign capital would open the one and lay the other, there is the greatest opposition to the slightest move in this direction. Why is the practical, matter-of-fact Chinaman so strongly opposed to the opening up of new country to foreign steamers? Why fear the introduction of the telegraph wire? And why are railways a bugbear to rulers and ruled? Because of Fung-shui? Then why do Chinese build their city towers so high and their temples of several stories? Above all how did the Vice-roy of Chihli dare establish those tall chimneys, which by their endless volumes of black smoke should frighten away Chihli spirits at least as effectually as the snorting of railway engine or the singing of a telegraph wire?

It is not Fung-shui. It is neither fear for the repose of the dead, nor for the health of the living, which forms the main cause of their tenacious opposition against changes, which, everybody knows, would be a boon to China. It is the BELIEF I have explained above; the belief that these changes would at once be employed by foreigners to facilitate the marching of their armies and to speed their intelligence. Remove the belief in the aggressive designs of foreign nations on the freedom of China, and coal mines may be opened by the hundred, railways laid down in the richest portions of

the land, and thousands of educated foreigners and skilled artizans employed for every dozen now in China. Remove that belief, and, though you will not see the childish legislation of a young Japan, you will see changes which will for ever remove the old cry of conservatism. This conservatism is based not on stupidity, but on patriotism. And in order to remove that belief, which is the soul of Chinese foreign policy, it is necessary to understand on what grounds so shrewd a people as the Chinese have come to classify western nations with the nomads, who, age after age, have been China's scourge, for they have long been aware of the superior knowledge and greater wealth of western nations as compared with Mongols, and have been compelled to look for other reasons than mere savagery and poverty.

What then,—in the face of the evacuation by the allies of Peking, when not a sword was raised against them,—can be the foundation of such a belief in the practical Chinese mind? One voice from Kwang-tung to Chihli cries out "Opium and Missionaries",—"opium to debilitate our bodies and render "us incapable of fighting, while draining our wealth;—mis-"sionaries to steal the minds of our people and prepare a foreign "party in China". With the question of opium we have nothing at present to do, for its effects are known to all, whatever their opinions regarding its merits, and it is only a very secondary element in the question under consideration,—the creation of a foreign party forming nine-tenths of that foundation. In reply to demands for an explanation of the belief in this creation of a foreign party, act after act is cited of oppression by missionaries and especially by their converts, of false charges against men in order to extort money, of imprisonment without legal examination, of liberation without trial by the warrant of the missionary, and of shielding criminal con-

verts from legal justice. Never is one purely religious objection offered, never is any other than political and civil acts brought forward to support the charge. And these acts are all of such a nature that as Earl Granville wrote to Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Wade six years ago, "There is not one which is in any way connected with any British (*) missionary establishment". Hence a medical missionary addressing Scotch students last winter was perfectly justified in changing the formula to "Opium and Roman Catholics".

The belief then which dictates the foreign policy of the Chinese Government, which rouses the bitter hate of the people from Yunnan to the Amoor, and which is a dead weight in the way of the moral progress and material prosperity of China and of the wide extension of foreign enterprise in it, is based on the conduct of the Romish priests, but chiefly on that of their converts. There are many of these converts respectable men, most of the descendants of the old Romanists of two centuries ago being of this character. These secretly lament the evils in their church, against which they dare not raise their voice. But there are many others guilty of deeds which, I imagine, would shock the priest as much as any other, if he knew the truth, but for which he is responsible by shielding the evil-doer from justice, whatever the heinousness of his offence or the number of his crimes. The "missionary" is hated not because he sets up a new religion, not because he vilifies, while he parodies, an effete Buddhism, not because he is a mere "missionary", but because he is in China a magistrate, and in Chinese eyes, nothing but a magistrate, with power over Chinese subjects independent of and above that of the Chinese native magistrate. It is the systematic defence of the most lawless "converts", even if

(*) He might have added "or other Protestant".

"converted" in order to escape the just penalty of their crimes, and the contemptuous defiance of all law and justice, which have taught the sharp-sighted Chinese to believe that the object for which the priests are in China is, not to teach a higher and better morality or establish a nobler and purer religion which would sift applicants and reject all who had given no sign of a change for good, but the "creation of a foreign party", to which men of any character and all conditions are welcome.

The object of this publication is not to draw attention to any religious tenets, any sectarian differences or any forms of church government. It is written, by one who happens to be a missionary, to expose political evils and grievances, the authors of which happen to be missionaries of various nationalities, but all connected with the Church of Rome and chiefly under Jesuit guidance. If Protestant missionaries, or other non-missionary foreigners are guilty of the evils complained of, they must hold themselves charged with complicity with the Romanists in so long and so uniformly carrying out the policy which has made China so thoroughly anti-foreign. In order to show that the Chinese have good reasons for their belief in this "creation of a foreign party" I shall adduce proofs sufficient to convince all foreigners, official and non-official, who appear to be ignorant of the excited state of the Chinese mind on this subject, and to prove that there is only too substantial a foundation for the ever-growing clamour against the "missionary". These proofs I shall divide into: 1st.—The History of the Romanists as recorded in Chinese official books; 2d.—The Blue-Book on Missions (No. 1,1872) laid before Parliament; 3d.—The Civil Ranks assumed by Romanists in China, and 4th.—A few cases illustrating their *modus operandi.*

1st.—Chinese History of the Romanists.

Any one visiting the magnificent tombs of the Romish priests in Peking cannot but be struck with the great esteem in which the first missionaries were held by Ming and Manchu Emperors, and cannot help contrasting and endeavouring to explain the glory which was theirs then, with the hating fear of which they are the objects now. What opened this tremendous gulf between the beginning and the ending of Romish missions to China? Though the following few extracts from the "Doonghwaloo" 東華錄 are all the authentic Chinese official information which I can at present collect, it is amply sufficient for the required explanation.

The first notices of the "Western Ocean" men appear in the very early parts of Manchu history, where they figure as the makers of "terrific cannon." This occupation they held for long, some of the priestly engineers forging cannon on the Chinese side and some on the Manchu side and much petted by both. But in 1668 when the war in the south was carried on by a mere handful of Chinese still faithful to the dethroned Ming Dynasty, Ferdinand Verbiest employed himself in the more appropriate task of criticising the Almanac which had been prepared for the ensuing year by the President of the Board of Astronomy. It contained errors, which to the Chinese mind were of great consequence, and the memorial which he had presented to the Emperor Kanghi having been duly considered by great ministers, it was found that "Nan Hwai Yin was correct, according to calculation by the 96 quarters,"—the President of the Board of Astronomy was therefore degraded and Verbiest installed in the vacant post. On the following year Verbiest accused Yang Gwangsien and others of speaking blasphemously of the New Almanac, and of falsely accusing "Tan Yowang"

(J. A. Schaal) of plotting rebellion. This led to long and serious discussions, after which the Emperor decreed that as Yang was an old man he would escape the penalty of death which he deserved, and the "Tang" would be re-instated in his office of "Teacher of the Doctrine." But "as to the other "Romanists (天主), with the exception of Nan and Tang, "they *must all leave the country.* The opening of new "churches and the receiving of new converts to be strictly "forbidden,"—implying that if Schaal himself was pronounced free from participation in plots, so much could not be found true of his co-religionists.

In 1717 (56th of Kanghi) the Board of War reported that "a memorial had come from Chun Ang, General in Canton, "setting forth that the Romanists had established places of "worship in all the provinces without giving any intimation; "that they *received and harboured the worst kind of charac-* "*ters, robbers and rebels;* and that it was impossible to "penetrate what their designs were in Canton, where they "had just opened a chapel 'before my very eyes.' There "are also many men coming in foreign ships, who in great "numbers frequent their premises and have communion with "them, so that it is manifest they have some *political in-* "*trigues* on hand. He prayed the Emperor therefore to issue "a proclamation forbidding all such. In Kanghi 8th year "(1669) such a proclamation had been issued to the effect "that, except Nan Hwaiyin, all must forsake the Chinese "shores, it being forbidden them to live in the provinces. "But as the law was established so long ago it has fallen "into abeyance, and should be now re-inforced." "To this Petition the Emperor agreed."

In Yungchêng, 1st year, 12th moon (January, 1724) Man Bao, Governor-General of Chihkiang and Fuhkien, reported

that the "Romanists were spreading their religion over every "province, that men's minds were becoming excited and ill "at ease *as to their object.*" He therefore beseeches the Emperor "to *employ all the foreigners in the observatory at* "*Peking* and to convert their large Chapel in ~~Amoy~~ into a "Public Hall; while those falsely pretending to follow their "religion should be forbidden to practise it." "This was agreed to."

2nd year (1724).—The Governor of Shantung memorialized that "there were impure religions floating about, deceiving "the people and inducing all to believe in their magical in- "fluence;—such as the Mahommedan Religion. The Ma- "hommedans neither worship heaven and earth, nor do they "sacrifice to the spirits above nor to those on the earth. "They have set up an ancestor of their own, different from "the Chinese, who is their Lord, and established a different "date for beginning the New Year. They are a sect bound "together, determined to defend each other even when in "the wrong. Thus the body covers the individual with its "wings and they therefore *commit crimes against the peace-* "*able people with impunity.*" He therefore "prayed that "their places of worship should be thrown down and the "practice of their religion forbidden."

The Emperor replied that "Mahommedanism from the be- "ginning had no custom worthy of imitation. But they "were now long in the country; their religion was not one "praised by all, but on the other hand condemned by the "people while six-tenths of their men of understanding con- "tinued to profess, only because they were born in it. It "has not taken root among the people and their places of "worship are held in reverence only by its own followers. "How then can they be said to deceive all the people? the

"Emperor wishes to put a stop only to those people who "*under pretence of religion* seek the destruction of the "people. But the old Buddhist, Taoist, Mahommedan Re- "ligions, which have had root for long should be left as "they are. If you attempt to *uproot their religion is it not "persecution? and how can that be permitted? what law ot "custom is there to countenance it?*" He then concludes by sharply reproving the memorialist for recommending such cruel measures.

6th year (1728).—Liw (Shih) Shuming, Governor of Fuh-kien reported that "the Romanists had no "Shunfoo" (Gods) "in their houses, nor did they worship ancestors, but they "disturb men's minds by forbidding the use of meats like "Buddhists and Taoists."

The Emperor replied that "only the unclean, Magical "Religions which injure men should be forbidden; that as to "the abstinence complained of—who ever heard of any enact- "ment in the past against it?"

P. Huc in Le Christianisme states that the prefect of Fon-ngan received an edict from the Viceroy (Governor-General) against christianity on 12th June 1723, denouncing it as a "*foreign religion seducing the people and corrupting "manners.*" In September 1723 the Viceroy promulgated another edict banishing the priests to Amoy, and in January 1724, this step was confirmed by the Emperor who was well acquainted from infancy with the doctrines of the church, and now ordered the Viceroy to send a Mandarin along with the priests to take care of them and guarantee them from insult. In August of the same year Prince Sourmia was banished beyond the great wall. P. Morao, Superior of the Jesuit Missions in China, was banished along with sons of Sourmia for complicity in a plot to put a brother of Yung-

chêng's on the Throne. Morao was sentenced to death, and the sentence executed at Kokonor as soon as the Emperor heard of the arrival of a Portuguese Embassy. From the "*Doonghwaloo*" we find that out of the twenty-three sons of Kanghi there were four who never acknowledged Yungchêng, and at last exhausted his patience, were banished Peking and all "took ill and died." This was the occasion of the first "persecution" against the Romanist Converts, and it had very little of religion about it.

The above Memorial of Kanghi 56th, in substance so wonderfully like the papers of Wên Siang to be quoted below, explains the cause of the sudden expulsion of Kanghi 8th, and the various "persecutions" under Yungchêng and and Kienlung. These quotations are all the more important as they were intended, not for a foreign eye, but to lie buried, as they are, in general Manchu history. The italics are especially commended to the reader. Let him look at the Memorial on the Mahommedans, whose system presents to its followers, more of undiluted truth than Romanism, the latter being by so much allied to Buddhism as it is distinct from Mahommedanism. If then the latter, whose followers combine and act now, as they are said to have done in 1724, is not only tolerated but protected by law, how did it come to pass that Romanism, in everything characteristic of it as a sect, so much like Chinese Buddhism, came under the lash of the pen and latterly the stroke of the sword? the above documents reply, as every literary man in China does to-day;—It is not because it is a religion but because it is an independent state; it is not because it receives converts but because it harbours criminals.

The reader cannot but observe the extraordinary leniency with which the foreign priests are treated even when known

to be plotting and acting against law and government. There was then no Treaty,—no engagement whatever on the part of the Chinese Government to shield the life or watch over the property of any foreigner. The wonder is, not that the Romanists were sent out of the country or "into the "observatory," but that every one of them was not murdered, as, in the same circumstances and at the same time, they would have been in any country in Europe.

When at length the wild persecution under Yungchêng broke out, it was only because the priests were found plotting against the Emperor, and because their converts throughout the Empire "would hear no voice but that of the "priests." Yet even then, when an effort was made to stamp out this political religion, the priests were treated in the most respectful manner, and strict orders given to shield them from the rage of the people and convey them in safety and comfort to the coast.

The sentiments of toleration enunciated by the Emperor to the Governor of Shantung are in accordance with the Chinese nature and law, and his appeal to ancient Chinese history in favour of toleration is abundantly justified, for in the annals of full 2000 years of that history I can recall only one instance of what was purely religious persecution. This was under the short-lived, rude and rough Mongol dynasty called Wei, which compelled Buddhist priests or monks to profess the Taoist religion and adopt its cultus, taking the lives of four Buddhists who refused. Every native Romanist who has been put to death in China has been as much the victim of political meddling as was the Jesuit Campian in England when exhorting the Romanists there to rebel against and assassinate their sovereign.

2d.—PARLIAMENTARY BLUE BOOK No. 1, 1872 (ON MISSIONS).

In order to understand the present attitude towards foreigndom of the Chinese Government and people, it is necessary only carefully to study this important Blue Book, which though, (perhaps because), five years old has more living influence, connected with the conduct of Romanists, in China than perhaps any other papers in the Chinese Foreign Office, and the influence is wielded not by what it says, but by what it does not say. This the reader will see for himself, for though he may not have seen the "Book" *in extenso* we shall skim the cream for him.

Among many foreigners in China there is the most firm belief in the unfathomable falsehood of Chinese magnates and the unimpeachable veracity of the Jesuits, who, known in most other countries as men who have converted falsehood into a holy art, are here gentle as a dove, kind as a mother, good and harmless as one of the saints in their own calendar; in fact they might be called "innocent lambs" as those were who preached the holy duty of murdering Elizabeth. It is probably under the influence of some such belief that Mr. (Sir Thomas) Wade states to his home Government that but for the discovery of a similar paper addressed to Sir R. Alcock in 1869, he would have regarded the paper of Wên Siang in 1871, as framed to appeal to the west for a more lenient judgment on the Tientsin case. The following few extracts from the earlier document by Wên Siang (June 1869) suffice to show that Sir Thomas was justified in believing that the later document was not fabricated for the occasion: "Among their (Romanist) converts are men evil "disposed and well disposed ... Relying on their creed as "a sort of magic spell, by their conduct (the converts) bring "the preaching of christianity into discredit ... the evil make

"a pretext for defrauding and oppressing unoffending people, "till by degrees indignation and rage reach a point... Case "after case of murder has occurred... The native Christians go "further: they oppress ordinary subjects of the country and "withstand and disobey the authorities". And the reason why it was sought to subject priests to the supervision of the authorities, where no foreign consul was near, was only that thus Christians and non-Christians will be placed "on a just "level *vis-a-vis* with each other and no troubles will arise". This is the one aim of those documents and of that pleading, viz., that all Chinese natives, irrespective of creed, be subject to their own laws. But "if no preventive measures (*) are adopted some great catastrophe will inevitably arise", and it did and will again.

The memorial of the Tsungli Yamên of 9th February 1871 is drawn up by the same hand and in the same manner, but more detailed, the frightful Tientsin massacre having meantime taken place, to the terror of the native government. In it occur the following words:—

"During the ten years the Prince and Ministers have held "office, the apprehension (of such as the Tientsin rising) has "been to them a subject of anxiety from night to morning; "and now this year... did come this outbreak at Tientsin. "The condemnation of the local authorities, the decapitation "of the principals and the payments for indemnity and repa- "ration have all been nearly arranged, but they (the minis- "ters) cannot help continuing anxious because if measures "like these are all that one can rely on (for the disposing of "quarrels between the people and the christians), the oftener "they are resorted to the *greater will be the difficulty* (of ap- "plying them), and *outbreaks like this will recur, each* more

(*) To prevent converts from oppressing their neighbours.

"terrible than the preceding". And when presentin gthe reasons for this universal discontent, the comparative purity of the church and the high social standing of the converts of the missionaries two centuries before, is contrasted with the want of moral character in the majority of the converts since the Treaty of 1860, for it was to borrow the terror of the foreign name that many applied for admission, and then began the modern civil evils of Romanism in China, for up till this period they never had recovered the political influence which they lost under Yungchêng. But after the Treaty the priests again swarmed into the interior to search out the scattered remnants of the church, and to triumph over the empire which had so long destroyed their civil authority. The power they displayed was not slow in filling their churches, for "all sorts" were welcome:—

"This indiscriminating enlistment of proselytes has gone "so far that rebels and criminals of China, pettifoggers (!) "and mischief-makers with such like, take refuge in the pro- "fession of Christianity and, covered by this position, create "disorder. This has deeply dissatisfied the people, and their "dissatisfaction long felt grows into animosity, and their ani- "mosity into deadly hostility... The people... include all "under the one denomination of foreigners, and thus any "serious collision that occurs, equally compromises all foreign- "ers in China".

In a long paper following the above, there are numerous plaintive ditties but all to the same refrain, the lawlessness of converts and its impurity because of the shelter given the criminals by the priests. There are numerous examples given, with the names of persons, places and dates, of bands of Romanists murdering people, plundering their cattle and property, seizing their wives and daughters and in 1869 a whole

prefecture sent in a petition to the Governor of Kweichow who reported to the throne "that *soi disant* rebel generallis- "simos had been received as converts, that innumerable peo- "ple in the towns and villages had suffered injury at their "hands—Yang, etc., etc., employed in the business of the "religious establishments were tyrannising over the orphan "and the weak and oppressing and extorting money," etc. "If any converts were non-suited, Yang, etc. "at once forced "their way into the magistracy with a crowd of converts and "compelled the magistrate to alter his decision". When a native was murdered by one or more Romanists there was no possibility of bringing the murderers even to examination. If a convert was murdered, justice in the shape of life for life was insufficient to appease his fellow-converts.

Then follows an account of the extraordinary mode in which the priests demanded and must have restitution of lands and houses sold and often resold since they were driven out of the country two centuries before, and if anything could make a Jesuit blush it is when a so-called heathen Government is praying that the priests whose calling it is to preach "virtue" should be ordered by their own Governments to pay some regard to virtue in their churches. They then again implore foreign Governments to adopt such measures as will place all native Chinese subjects on a level before the law; and if this had been done as it should have been, foreigners would have found no greater miscarriage of justice in dealing with honest men among the native converts than in France or England. For the magistrate, even if willing, would be terrified to injure a man merely because he was a convert.

The following conclusion of the document we strongly commend to the earnest attention of every well-wisher of

China: "The prince and ministers would guard against "mischief before it becomes a fact; and they seriously ap- "prehend—that when the Tientsin case is closed the christ- "ians in different places, knowing no better, will be embol- "dened by it and allow themselves to swagger and bluster "*ad libitum;* the dislike of the people will be intensified, "and after due accumulation their wrath will burst forth at "a day's warning...it will be beyond the control of the local "authorities, presently beyond the control of the Provincial "Governments and the Yamên for Foreign Affairs will be "equally powerless. And if there be an unanimous rising of "the Chinese people, His Majesty our Emperor may send "Special Commissioners, or may set troops in motion in all "parts of the Empire, but the whole population cannot be "put to death. But when it comes to this that the damage "is past help, and the Governments, Chinese and foreign, "are without the means to preserve the common interest "from harm, a *charge will be at the door of the international "agents of both, from which they cannot excuse themselves".*

To this pleading appeal of the Chinese Government to the foreign nations...an appeal in which appears the utter inability of the native Government to deal with the subject single-handed, for fear of offending the western powers, I am grieved to have to say that our ministers, representing by far the greatest foreign interests in, and power in the vicinity of, China, wrote a long reply evading the question at issue, by throwing doubts, which he did not entertain, as the truth of the facts adduced. Hence the belief of the Chinese that England is combined with France in supporting the civil authority and political status of these Romanist "infinite indepen- "dent states" in China.

I shall now quote the views of the various foreign Govern-

ments, chiefly interested, and of their representatives in China, on the above memorial.

FRANCE.

"M. Gavard (in London)—denied that the facts justified "the accusations. If they did so, *the French Government "would be the first to condemn them*".

M. de Rémusat calls the statements of the Memorial "pre- "tendus abus" and concocted by the Chinese with the view "s'affranchir des engagements qu'il a contractés"!

Mr. Wade writes the Tsungli Yamên:—"I am assured by "the representative of France that, although he considers it "most desirable that the Romish Bishops and their mission- "aries should have such access to the chief anthorities of "jurisdictions as will enable them to represent any wrong "done to their congregations *in the matter of religious free- "dom, the French Legation does not recognize the claim of "the same ecclesiastics to interfere between the Chinese Christ- "ian and his official in any question in which the free exercise "of his religion is not affected*".

ENGLAND.

Earl Granville:—"I told M. Gavard that I could not pre- "tend to think that the conduct of the French missionaries "had been prudent in the interests of christianity itself, and "that the support which had been given by the Representa- "tive of France to their pretensions was dangerous to the "future relations of Europe with China"...Proper to "re- "strain their missionaries from doing things...which seriously "endangered the relations of European Powers with Chi- "na"..."the policy and practice of the Government of Great "Britain have been unmistakable. They have uniformly "declared, and now repeat, that they do not claim to afford "any species of protection to Chinese Christians which may

"be construed as withdrawing them from their native alle-
"giance."...

Mr. (Sir Thomas) Wade was prepared to have taken the same view of the Memorial as M. de Rémusat, until at the instance of Wên Siang a search in the British Archives brought to light the memorial of 1869, hidden away and neglected in the dust of nearly two years. This discovery convinced him of the *bonâ fide* nature of the memorial of 1871 of exactly similar purport and he believed that,—"It "is intended to be an exposé of a state of things that is "sorely irritating the educated class who govern China"... an entire misapprehension of the main point of the document, which has extremely little to do with the educated class, but is chiefly confined to the bearings of Romanism on the people. He believes from the "conversations of eight years" that the document is upon the whole true in its charges against Romanism, but this to his own Government, his language to the Chinese leading them to infer the reverse.

GERMANY.

"The views of the German Government on this question "entirely coincide with those expressed in your Lordship's "(Granville's) despatch", (see above).

UNITED STATES.

"The President will see with deep regret any attempt to "place a foreign ecclesiastic, as such, on a different footing "from other foreigners residing in China...The President "would look with equal regret upon any attempt to with-"draw the native christians from the jurisdiction of the Em-"peror without his free consent, or to convert the churches "founded by the missionaries into asylums...he particularly "desires it to be understood that the profession of the Christ-"tian faith is not regarded by the officers of the United States

"as a protection against punishment for crime. Ecclesiasti-
"cal asylums for criminals have never existed in this coun-
"try, nor will they be planted elsewhere through its agen-
"cy".

Mr. Low in his reply to the Tsungli Yamên is more direct and practical than Mr. Wade, yet he himself acknowledges that he evaded the main issue by, like Sir Thomas, insinuating doubts which he did not feel on the correctness of the facts of the memorial. He writes to his Government, as Mr. Wade did, that it was only the discovery of the document of 1869 caused him to believe in the genuineness of the Memorial of 1871. He knows that no Protestant missionary is guilty of the abuses complained of and he believes that Romanists are. After referring to the age, experience and ability of Wên Siang ("Wan-Tsiang"), who drew up the Memorial, he writes:—"That he (Wên Siang) is sincere in
"his professed anxiety about the future, no one well acquaint-
"ed with the real condition of affairs here will question...
"To reply" (to the Yamên) "and admit what *I really believ-*
"*ed to be true* that the Chinese have some ground of com-
"plaint, without being able to suggest a practicable remedy,
"would only do harm...to simply say that, as their com-
"plaints are against the Roman Catholics, it is a matter
"which concerns the French alone, with which other na-
"tions have nothing to do, would have the effect to defeat
"what the other Treaty Powers have been anxious to bring
"about, viz., that when the Chinese have difficulties with
"one foreign nation, which are likely to involve all in trou-
"ble, they should frankly state their case to be judged by all,
"and in this way bring the force of an enlightened public
"opinion to bear upon the action of any Government that
"attempts to oppress or deal unfairly...My opinions as ex-

"pressed in former despatches touching this matter (of Ro-
"mish civil authority in China), are confirmed by further
"investigation".

To what does all this amount? The Chinese, afraid to act alone, for fear of offending western Powers, consult with these Powers in order to put an end to that lawlessness on the part of Chinese subjects, converts to Romanism, which causes bitter hatred against foreigners, makes justice impossible, murder certain and massacres and wars probable. The Chinese "state their case to be judged by all" the Powers, for conjoint action is desired by the latter. There is conjoint action and conjoint double action, for all the ministers agree in stating to their Home Governments that the Chinese have a case, and in stating to the Chinese that they have no case, which is the only sense in which the Chinese can read those evasive replies. France calls the statements made "preten-
"dus abus," denying that any such state of matters existed. Mr. Wade believes it exists, but says in effect to the Chinese Government, what you state is most unlikely to be true, and if it is partially true, appeal to the French ministers who has already refused to believe. Mr. Low believes it exists and when asked by the Chinese Government to help in stopping it, says that no citizen of the United States will be permitted to act in any such manner as that complained of. So much for conjoint action. This may be politics, but its honesty is suspicious.

Both Messrs. Wade and Low blame the Chinese Government for resting their case chiefly on the violent deeds of Romanists in such remote places as Szechuen and Kweichow where there are no merchants and therefore no Consuls. Both ministers are, I doubt not, perfectly aware that Romanists do not permit their converts to display their power or snatch

their prey where they can be readily detected; but that, the further from Treaty Ports, the greater the power they wield, and the more numerous the converts they make: Both ministers make capital out of the instances quoted to force upon the notice of the Chinese the desirability of opening those ports to the merchant and the Consul. This is a most laudable object, but I fear that it has led the Chinese to infer that the foreign ministers think all of trade and nothing of justice. Looking at these replies to the Chinese Government, which are to say the least wholly evasive, is it at all surprising that first the Government and now all magistrates and scholars have inferred that all foreign nations are either indifferent to, or highly pleased with the Romanist civil authority over the magistrate and people of his neighbourhood or that the others write evasive replies lest they offend France? Mr. Low or his Government should not be surprised that his fear of making a candid reply according to his belief, has classed the American Government alongside of the others as an abettor and upholder of "ecclesiastical asylums," for he too has given these a helping hand, a help exactly in proportion to the power of the United States in China.

The rock on which that memorial split was the belief of the Chinese Government that the only mode of securing the equality of converts and non-converts before the law, was to get the foreign priest to acknowledge the authority over him of the Chinese magistrate, and to stand before that authority with the status of a native literateur. The history of the Romanists in China shows that they were then most powerful and most successful when they were under native laws and before they began to dictate to and defy native magistrates. Yet it is perhaps proper that even inland the foreigner be subject to his own laws, especially in the present state

of universal animosity against the foreigner begotten by the priests.

But surely among so many able diplomatists seriously engaged on that bungled memorial, it might have struck some one that it was possible to secure the equality of natives of all creeds before, and their responsibility solely to, the laws of their own country, without including foreigners therein! For to any one carefully reading, this equality of natives is the one *raison d'être* of the document.

Meantime the Chinese Government is ignorant of the expressed desire of all the great western Powers, France not excepted, that it should have absolute control in all civil matters over all its own subjects, and the hands of the Chinese magistrate are paralyzed by the attitude assumed by all those Powers through their Representatives in Peking. They know the letter of the Treaty on the subject, but they are compelled to read the Treaty in the light of those evasive replies.

When the Chinese Government had, and still has, a case which every foreign minister acknowledged a just one, every foreign minister agreed to refuse the Government a hearing, or move a little finger to help it; yet we are always crying out against the Chinese Government because it does not concede every foreign demand as soon as made. If this is policy it seems to me a somewhat unwise one which some day may produce fruit. Has it nothing to do with the eager desire of the Chinese to have all trade in their own hands and thus rid themselves of the foreigner?

I have felt compelled to take the liberty of criticizing the acts of those in authority, only because otherwise it would be impossible to assign any reasonable cause for the present attitude of China towards the Roman Catholic missions, or ac-

count for the general belief that all foreign nations are interested in supporting the civil status and power of the priests. This belief exists and cannot in any other manner be accounted for.

3rd.—Ranks assumed by Romanists.

Those who are in any way acquainted with Chinese customs know with what extreme jealousy they preserve the distinctions of their nine magisterial grades, which foreigners somewhat comically call the nine "buttons", from the knobs of precious stone on the official hat, denoting the rank to which the wearer belongs. It is true that some grades, and especially military ones, can be purchased, but these deceive no Chinaman, who regards them with contempt; while the civil grades, as implying high literary attainments are greatly superior in Chinese eyes, to the same grade in the army.

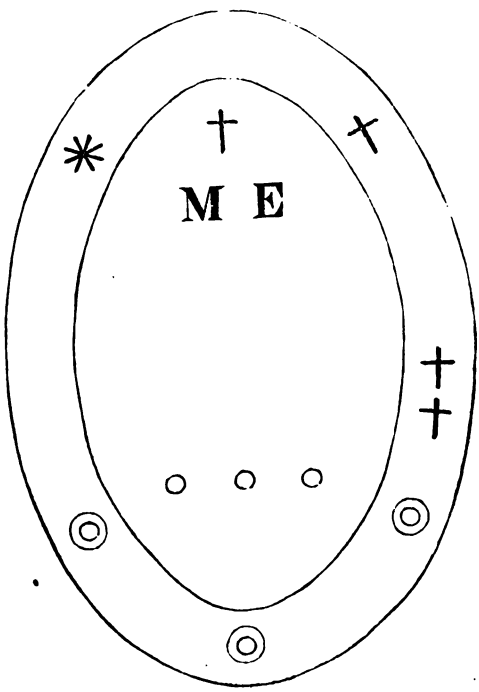
Though these grades are held by literary men only, and, theoretically, the prizes of pure literary ability, no amount of literary attainment or intellectual talent confers any of these grades upon any man. They are official and magisterial and not literary grades, the literary degree and the magisterial grade being as distinct as an M. A. and a Judgeship. Any Chinaman discovered guilty of assuming a grade to which he has not been appointed is subject to at least as severe penalties in China as a man deceiving the public in England by calling himself Count This or Judge That. Only those who have Government appointments, civil or military official employment, belong to the nine grades. The grades of Buddhism and Taoism are purely religious and honorary, conferring not an iota of civil power.

The Chinese recognise foreign officials, Ministers and Consuls, as of such and such a grade, while the in-door staff of

the Customs have, I believe, a certain grade, because in Chinese official employment. Any foreigner beyond these services claiming any one of the Chinese grades is guilty of the same offence against the laws of China as would a Chinaman in England claiming to be a law officer of the crown, from the Woolsack downwards. But what of a Chinaman in England, possessing probably not a first class education in his native tongue, assuming the rank of English Judge of the Circuit and arrogating the same function; sometimes judging, condemning, imprisoning and fining English subjects, sometimes forbidding the English Judge to examine, and again causing him to reverse a judgment already passed: suppose such a case, and you have the exact parallel of what Romish priests do in China; and not only what they do themselves, but what they empower native converts, attaining to the grade of priest, to do. To the Chinese the term semi-political has no meaning as applied to the Romish priests until you drop the semi.

Observe the phraseology employed by the Romanists. They are in China to receive adherents and manage all the affairs, civil and religious, of their converts by "Imperial "Authority" or "Letters-Patent". There is no Pope, but there is the "Emperor of the Faith" 教化皇 The Cardinal becomes "King of the Faith", 教王, of whom there are four "Great Kings" 大王, who choose the new "Emperor". The Bishop is "Lord of the Faith" 教主; and the only incongruous name is that of the priest who becomes, "Father "of the Gods", as any Chinaman will translate 神父. The key to their whole system is this "By Imperial Authority", or as we used to say "By Royal Warrant" or "Letters Pa-"tent". These two words "Chin ming" are graved in large characters and hoisted high before their chapels to be seen of

all. Every writ or warrant by which they imprison non-convert natives, who have come under their displeasure, or are not ready to meet the terms of peace dictated by the converts, begins as follows 欽命大法國兼管總°°° 爲會教 etc., etc., the three blanks standing for name of Province and of Priest. The same official writ is stamped in red at the bottom of both the beginning and end of the paper, the large foreign envelope enclosing this writ being stamped in the same manner, the oval stamp being of the following size and style:—



* Name † and Surname of priest in French.

†† Priest's title.

ooo Three Chinese "seal" characters — priest's surname and name.

ΘΘΘ Name of province.

`` + Cross requires no explanation.

ME I take to mean "Missions Etrangères." At each side of the inner oval is a flower. To avoid personalities I have not given the name. Above this stamp at both the beginning and

the end of the paper are the two characters 會 照 "whijao," implying that the document is written by one who has at least equal magisterial status with the person addressed.

A foreigner may laugh at the miserable imposture of palming off a private stamp for an official and magisterial seal, but to the Chinaman who does not know a roman letter the above is as formidable as any imperial seal of office, he naturally judging of the seal by the form of address to himself, and being unable to comprehend, or even believe, that any man would have the boldness to issue falsehoods of so grave a nature, for he is addressed by one who "by Imperial "Authority" is a "Magistrate of France" to "rule over" "all "matters" without exception which have any connexion with "the faith", or, which is the same thing, "with the con-"verts"; and who is a magistrate "the equal" or "superior" of the magistrate addressed. Hence no amount of laughter will convince him that this seal is not given either by the Emperor of China or the "Emperor" of France, for the Romanists leave him to infer whom he choses. When therefore a prisoner is brought by a band of "converts" with a writ as above described the magistrate dares not ask to examine the case, dares not refuse to receive the prisoner, but has to throw him into the *condemned* cell, for the prisoner has already been judged and condemned by the priest, or as in most cases, by his subordinates. And the man lies in prison till the priest or his "converts" release him or till he dies.

The official who, with fear and trembling, let me see one writ from which I copied the above, told me I could see hundreds such if only he could be sure that he would not lose his situation, by the vengeance of the Romanists. I got the sight of that one only because I had said over and over again

that the conduct universally ascribed to the priests was impossible and incredible.

The Romish Bishop assumes the rank, position and precedence of a Taotai, i. e. 3rd. grade (1st. being the highest in China); the common priest is of the 4th, that of Chihfu, taking precedence of all magistrates, under that grade, the lower five grades belong to native converts according to their position in the church. Some of these natives are of such mental calibre and education that they would be unfit for common clerks in a native Yamên, yet one such whom I saw sometime ago said with great humility that he was not 4th grade yet, he was only 5th, which is the Grade of Chihchow.

In 1868 a Bishop had the impudence to write to the Tsungli Yamên by the Government post couriers, using the form "chao hui" (Jaohwi), commending a Taotai and others to the Yamên and asking for them extraordinary marks of favour!

The Chinese Government was of old aware that the titles assumed by the priests were false and their claims to jurisdiction over Chinese converts and non-converts, an imposture, and we have seen how they were treated by foreign Ministers when endeavouring to come to a proper understanding on the subject. Hence their belief that all foreign governments are at one in upholding those titles and abetting those claims, in order out of these "converts" to form a foreign party.

4th.—Cases illustrating the Civil Modus Operandi.

An illustrative case which happened three years ago can be briefly stated. A few years ago a man became a convert to Romanism, whose ancestor had gifted a portion of land to a temple. The convert demanded restitution of that land and his demand was not complied with. He laid his com-

plaint before Chihhien, stating in his petition, according to Romish, but contrary to all native usage, his religious persuasion, in order to have the more weight with the Magistrate. The Magistrate decided that as the claimant acknowledged the former, free, unconditional gift to the temple, the gift could not now be recalled, and dismissed the case.

The case was appealed to the Tartar General three years ago, who, after the necessary examinations, confirmed the decision of the lower court.

Now appears the peculiar action of the priest, for it is only when the members of his flock are unable to carry their point that he interferes. The priest went into Moukden, marched into the presence of the Governor-General and demanded the reversal of the sentence, for—"we do not "believe in the temples." The Governor-General replied that it was a case of mere justice, and that he cannot decide otherwise than he did. But the persistency of the priest gained the point, as often before and since, and the Governor-General had to yield, reversing his own decision and ordering the Chihhien to find for the pursuer.

It is this appeal to the Governor-General which frightens the inferior magistrates lest he, who, in his turn, fears international difficulties, should strip them of their office and send them into private life, for causing trouble by opposing the priest. This fear exists, whether justified by instances of such degradation or not I have not enquired. This case is however one which causes no great stir, it is quoted by Romanist converts to show the power of their priest; by other natives to show that power combined with injustice. But the two cases following, in which I have been a score of times implored to interfere in the interest of justice are of

the kind which rouse wide spread enmity and lead sooner or later to murder.

In Pooho, a village north of Moukden, an old man Shu, without dependants, opened a small eating house for foot-travellers, by which to eke out a scanty livelihood. In the same village there lived a "ne'er-do-well," Ni, whose only occupation was gambling, which as it is accompanied by, or leading to, all kinds of vice, is strictly prohibited by Chinese law and for which many have been beheaded in Moukden. Ni patronised the small eating house rather more than Shu desired, for a whole year had passed, his account accumulating with every meal.

In December last he appeared in the eating house along with five friends for whom he ordered dinner and with whom he made so merry that he became intoxicated. When they rose to go, Ni ordered the landlord to "put this down to his "account." The old man refused, saying that his account was already too large, for that it had now run up a whole year without any cash payments. This refusal led to high words, and what with drink on the one side and outraged anger on the other, the matter became at last so hot that Ni smashed all the crockery-ware of the inn and cut open his own head, so that blood appeared,—a common Chinese trick,—in order to be sure of vengeance. By this time many of the villagers were on the spot and by their mediation a peace was patched up, Ni agreeing not to prosecute for his broken head, and Shu not to count his broken dishes and to cancel Ni's account.

As none of the parties was a Romanist the affair was regarded as closed. But a cook of the priest's in Moukden, a native of that village, and some distant relation of Ni's, who was a convert, got a travelling cart, by which he sent off his

old mother, Mrs. Yao, to the village. She entered the inn and after stating whence she came, demanded the immediate payment of 400 tiaos (Tls. 50 or £15) in order to hush up the quarrel of her relation Ni. The landlord, who could not raise a third of the money, and perhaps smarting under his losses by Ni, indignantly refused to give the whole or a part of the extortionate demand. Mrs. Yao however would not have a bare refusal, but sat on using her tongue and her patience, as only Chinese can, till at length Shu, in desperation, sent for the headman of the village. He knew well all the parties in the play, explained to Mrs. Yao how unjust were her demands, and urged her to depart. With the justice of the claim she had nothing to do, and she would go away as soon as the money was paid. The assistant headman was next summoned in and he agreed with his chief in everything he had said, both advising the woman to desist from making such a claim after the principal parties had already dropped the matter. But her tongue and pertinacity more than matched both them and the villagers who had collected.

The villagers seeing no probable end to the affair, knowing Ni's worthless character, determined, in their anger, to bring the matter to a crisis by accusing Ni, to the magistrate in Moukden. They therefore bound Ni, set him on a "large" cart, surrounded by Shu, his nephew, the two headmen and a fifth as accusers and witnesses. Theirs however was a slow cart, and Mrs. Yao in her "small" cart got into Moukden long before them. When therefore the large cart got inside the gates of Moukden, but before it got to the Yamên, it was surrounded by a band of over twenty Romanists, which compelled the party to go to the Romish Chapel. There a native priest named Hia, of course well posted up, sat in

judgment over the six, for he too is a No. 4 button magistrate.

He found the five guilty of the crime of persecuting the innocent Ni; drew out the usual writ, stamped it and sent the party of five bound to the Yamên, whither they had been leading Ni, who, more fortunate than they, was safely lodged in the Chapel. The native magistrate had to imprison the five men *in the condemned cell*, which is possibly a slight improvement on the "Black Hole".

The whole story soon leaked out. The five men prayed for legal examination by their own magistrate and before their accusers. Their friends outside joined in the prayer, for old Shu became seriously unwell and it was feared he would add another to the deaths said to have been caused by the Romanists in this way. The fifth man had some friends among the "converts" by whose aid he was liberated on payment of a reduced fine, but the magistrate dared not move. And though after sometime, various attempts were made to induce Ni, the prosecutor, to appear to support his charges before the magistrate, he thought it safer to remain in the Chapel.

All this time some Romanists daily visited the cell, partly to see that the prisoners were not removed to a less noisome apartment, and partly to induce them to come to terms. Freedom was offered them on condition: 1st.—That Ni would remain for ever unmolested, and 2nd.—That a large fine should be paid, or a reduced fine if they became Romanists. The first, before a month of this frightful imprisonment had passed, they were ready to grant, but with the second they could not comply, for though they tried hard to raise the amount, they were unable, and they would not become Romanists, as some have done to escape persecution.

A young scholar, Yin, a native of the north of Moukden

and a relation of Shu's, had been received sometime as a member of the Protestant Church in Moukden. The four prisoners, believing him one of the Romanist set, besought him through another friend to procure them a trial, for they sought only to be tried, willing to suffer for whatever crime of which the law might find them guilty. He went to the Yamên but was informed that without authority from the priest it was impossible to move in the matter. He went to Hia, who for certain reasons used to be very gracious to him, but was anything but gracious now. Soon after this I went to Moukden and heard of the case first from him, he beseeching me to interfere by getting either the priest or the magistrate to agree to a trial, for that the magistrates would not dare refuse if I asked him. I objected, telling him that if Romanists broke the law to injure men, I could not break the law even to save them, or in any way interfere with purely native matters, with which I had no concern. At the same time I informed him that only native magistrates had jurisdiction over Chinese subjects, and that by Treaty with all foreign nations the native magistrate had jurisdiction over all Chinese subjects, who, irrespective of creed, were amenable for their conduct to the laws of their native land.

It was probably on account of this information that a day was nominated for the trial, and messengers were sent to the Romish Chapel to invite the prosecutor to appear. They were met at the gate by a lot of converts who informed them that Ni was inside, but defied them to move one step across the threshold. They then began to abuse and revile the messengers in Chinese style and with such good effect that the representatives of the law skulked away with blushing faces and the trial did not come off.

It would appear that in his desire to have a trial Yin was

giving more trouble than the Romanists usually encounter and to crush the apparent plot to thrust off their yoke, they now put forward their last and strongest card—the French priest. He goes to the Yamên and sits there, keeping the magistrate a prisoner for four hours, till the second watch struck and long after the lamps were lit, in order to gain his two points: 1st.—That Ni should remain unmolested, and 2nd.—That the bad man Yin should be at once imprisoned. The weak magistrate at length yielded the first, but would grant the second only on condition that the priest would write out a formal indictment, which though he threatened, he did not think proper, to do.

Ni had been now some time baptized in his asylum, and, probably fearing they might get into a scrape, a member of the brotherhood was sent to the Yamên, got the four prisoners away to the chapel, where they were admonished on their evil conduct, a word of expostulation from one of them bringing down an angry order for silence else they would be sent back again. They fell therefore on their knees, kept their silence, gave the greatly reduced fine and were rejoiced to find themselves free again.

"And what of Ni"? I have enquired of more than one of his fellow-villagers. They, taking me at first for a Romanist, say "he is a very good man," but at length give their true convictions, that he will be free to act as he chooses now that he is baptized, none daring even to hint of prosecution, for such a hint is equivalent to the hasty man's imprisonment.

In one of the south streets of Moukden there is a distillery in which a neighbouring pawnshop had invested a sum of money, which with interest amounts to Tls. 10,000, but had no active management. Hü Minli, an *employé* of the distille-

ry, was so good an assistant that, besides his wages, a certain small share had been allowed him out of the profits, from which he has received considerable sums of money. Last year business was so bad that the distillery had to stop work, was closed at the end of the Chinese year in February, and Minli dismissed without any additional share, inasmuch as there had been a loss instead of a profit. Some time after his dismissal Minli, at the head of a dozen men with three large carts, presented himself at the gate of the distillery to take forcible possession of all the grain he could lay hands on. This robbery was of course resisted by the men in charge, but a small sum of money or quantity of grain was offered him for peace sake, sufficient to keep him in food for some months. This he scornfully rejected and a "row" began, Minli pushing his wife forward in front of his men, saying "Strike, if you will"! As he found himself unable to carry out his design he led his wife towards one of the wells in the compound, urging her to jump in. This terrified the distillers lest they should be accused of murder, or, which is in Chinese law much the same, of cruelty such as leads to suicide. As they were so much more numerous than the assailants, they therefore laid hold of Minli and his men and bound them.

One of the partners of the pawnshop, knowing of the disturbance, went over and exhorted to peace and reason, again saying to Minli that he might have some money or a little grain, but that the distillers could not allow him to act as he desired. That however did not suit his plans and the distillers saw no other way out of the difficulty than by formally accusing Minli to the magistrate. This they did, leading him to the Yamên themselves. Here they were met by "converts" from the Romish chapel, with the card of the

priest who forbade the magistrate to imprison this man, who was a relation of the legal factotum of the Romanists called Jang Chungju, an illiterate man, who gets others to write his writs, by whom he was now supported, and at whose instigation, it is supposed, he acted. Minli was therefore set free before he crossed the Yamên gate. This was however only step first in what is believed to have been a well-laid plot, the rest to be carried out by Chungju who was now heard to utter threats against the pawnshop, his design being inferred to be to compel the pawnshop to drop, in his and his friend's favour, its interests in the distillery. This plot was joined by some of the distillery bankrupt partners, all under Chungju. The pawnshop men heard of his threats frequently and these were directed, not against the *employés* but against the principals. One day he appeared at the head of a band of "converts," entered by the front gate of the pawnshop, passed through to the back where he found partner Liw in a room by himself. Him they seized; but instead of going back through the shop where they might be opposed, they took him out by the back door, some of them leaped over the north wall of the compound and Liw was handed to them over the wall, conducted to the Yamên and imprisoned by the writ already described. He was imprisoned on the charge of binding Minli and his band. Some influence was brought to bear on the magistrate and he sought to sit in court on the subject, but no prosecutor would appear. He made up his mind to memorialize the Governor General but his courage failed him. As Chungju did not get his will carried out as speedily as he sought, he now threatened to imprison every one of the partners of the pawnshop, unless their interest in the distillery was dropped in his favour. The result was that all the partners fled, some

to their houses, some to hiding places in Moukden, the one who gave me the story living in a small room in an inn, which was locked all day and which he dared open only at night, and the large business has been suspended for now nearly four months, a few only of the *employés* being left there to keep watch. The case is now under appeal to the French Consul, Liw having at last ventured on that course as his only hope, not of release, but of trial, for he too and his co-partners desire simply to have the matter tried by the native magistrate and be judged according to law. At first he dared not appeal, for he believed the statements of the Romanists, that there is no authority superior to theirs in China and feared that by appealing, his case would become worse. Chungju, who has a paid agent in the Yamên, known to everybody, heard of the appeal immediately, and was quieted down for some time. But as on account of other pressing business, the appeal was not speedily replied to, he has, I am informed, again betaken himself to his old courses and has recently imprisoned another merchant. I trust however it will be about his last, for if the Consul merely states to the magistrate that all Chinese subjects irrespective of creed are responsible to Chinese magistrates, we shall hear no more of this barefaced lawlessness, which is based entirely on the absolute support of men like Chungju by the priest. The priest is willing enough that the prisoner be examined by the magistrate, but Chinese law cannot act if the accuser and accused are not face to face, and the priest has too much affection for lambs of his flock like Chungju, to permit the magistrate to examine them even as prosecutors or witnesses. Hence an examination means, "to examine "the prisoner and find him guilty", and as the Chinese magistrate cannot do this, the prisoner remains a prisoner till

he is released by accepting the terms of his persecutors, or by death.

It may be objected that the Chinese are such liars, that it is extremely difficult to tell when they speak truth, and the statement is, alas! only too correct. It is true also that the fear of trouble of any kind or a fairly good bribe would induce magistrate or witness to reverse his former testimony. Yet in regard to these two cases I personally believe their truth, 1st.—because of their verisimilitude and coherence as cause and effect; 2nd.—because when I was implored to act in the matter, it was not to defy, evade or mitigate a sentence already passed by a competent judge, it was not even to show some interest in their 'fate while being judged, in order to secure a more lenient verdict, it was *in order that they might have a fair legal trial in native fashion, under native laws and by their own native magistrate,* for they did not even once hint at the desirability of my presence in court. Others, not in any way connected with Romanism, have come to me in order to mitigate or annul a sentence passed, or likely to be passed by the magistrate, but these belong to a different category. Inasmuch as the Pooho case is already finished I believe it would be difficult to get some of the principals to speak, as when they were in prison, because they fear Romish vengeance, though there are a few men who would still witness anywhere to the details; while there is no difficulty about ascertaining all the truth *in ré* the pawnshop while it is *sub judice,* Liw unexamined, being still *in the condemned cell* and seriously unwell.

But, for argument's sake, suppose the filling in of the Pooho case to be a fabrication of the headmen and villagers of that village, suppose those headmen to be scoundrels, old Shu with the other witnesses rogues, and Ni a pattern of

moral excellence, what conceivable object could those five men have in prosecuting a man at great cost of time and money out of whom they could not "squeeze" a dollar? And why the Romanist band seizing the cart? Suppose even they did not seize the cart, my unabated charge remains the same, that Romish priests, or their native retainers using the priest's seal, can imprison *any* Chinaman over the magistrate's head and against the magistrate's will, and can open his prison doors in the same manner, of which there is proof in the archives of the Moukden magistracy in the form of the stamped writ imprisoning those five men. The same reasoning applies to the pawnshop case. The power which imprisons is that of the priest; the power which liberates is that of the priest, the magistrate cannot refuse to lodge the prisoner, he cannot free him and he must free him when the priest or Jang Chungju desires.

It is, I imagine, scarcely necessary to crowd more pages with other instances of this authority. As to material there is unfortunately only too much of it; and from my own experience I feel as if I could guarantee numerous such instances in the Yamên of any city in China, in the neighbourhood of a Romish Chapel and at some little distance from the ports; for probably there is a good reason why one never hears of such things taking place on the Coast.

It is decidedly true that the Romish form of Christianity in China turns father against son, son against father, husband against wife and friend against friend. But in China the "tables are turned," for it is the convert persecutes the non-convert, and hales him to prison, where he lies till he is tamed into willingness to come to terms with the converts; but he is never freed by the force of justice or the power of the magistrate.

Not far from Moukden two near relations own contiguous properties. One was a "convert," the other not. The convert was encroaching on the land of the non-convert, who resented it, and a quarrel got up, which sent the convert into Moukden to his priest to complain that his neighbour would neither enter the church himself, nor permit him peaceably to enter; not only so, but he had trampled on a cross; an unintentional crime for which not a few have been imprisoned. A writ was immediately drawn out and stamped, and the non-convert lodged in the prison till he came to terms with his converted kinsman.

These facts are presented to the reader, not to stir up a generous indignation against the reckless authors of such crimes, but to show that the Chinese have good reason to combine "Opium and Missionaries," as the causes of their restless fear of, and aversion against, foreigners. It is to prevent acts like this that the memorials of 1869 and 1871 were drawn up by Wên Siang, and it is because evasive replies were given to those memorials that the Chinese persist in believing that, in their desire to create an independent foreign party, it is the will of all the Great Powers to have matters thus.

It was formerly the fashion to deny that the priests acted thus, arrogating false titles and usurping a civil authority, even over their own converts. But when the priests themselves glory in the former in their "*Annales de la propagation de la Foi*," detailing with pride the accompaniments of their rank,—the firing of guns, unfurling of banners, music and every other mark of distinction, belonging to high mandarins;—when they take no trouble to hide the rank they assume even in port towns, and make the greatest display of it inland, only lamentable ignorance can in future ques-

tion this crime against Chinese law; and when, with a wonderful logic worthy of the cause, passages of scripture are advanced by them in the *Celestial Empire*, 11th November, 1875, in favour of preventing any convert of any character from appearing in Court to answer for his crimes, the sceptical may believe that the priests will shield all their converts,—even if they will not believe the distinct statements to that effect of Messrs. Wade and Low and Earl Granville. But what the Chinese people object to chiefly is, not that Romanists can never be got into a Court of Law as defendants, but that they are so frequently in the Court of Law as prosecutors,—nay as condemning judges. Of this I have given two instances simply because I know them to be true from personal connexion with them. The two can be made two hundred by the proper authorities.

It is a clever device of the foreign abetters of this system of robbery and oppression to endeavour to gain foreign favour by always decrying against the enmity of the literary classes, as if such enmity had been incurred by protecting the poor from injustice. This is certainly not true. All China and especially the middle and lower classes, outside, the "converts," unite in this hatred of the foreigner and for the causes detailed above.

As an apology for the exercise of this *imperium in imperio*, it is urged that Chinese Magistrates are so corrupt. When we say that the Chinese Magistrate is much better than the Turkish, possibly equal to the average Russian; and not always much more corrupt than some judges in other Christian lands, it does not prove him of a high moral standard as to the sources of his income. Their precarious tenure of office, and their miserable salary, which is in many cases insufficient to clothe them, drive Chinese Magistrates into

dishonesty, as it would drive some members of the British Parliament, if they had not private ways of making ends meet. If the Magistracy is corrupt, it is, for the Chinese people to change it, unless you are prepared to make China a second India. It is no reason for establishing another corrupt Magistracy beside it. But even though the Magistrate is everywhere spoken against as a lover of private gain rather than of public justice, all the people unite with him in detestation of this foreign yoke which compels the law to pick pockets in the face of day. Hence the Chinese say there are two kinds of people become "foreigners,"—as "converts" are called,—one, the few wealthy in order to escape from plunder; the other, the many poor in order to be able to plunder with impunity. The prediction of Wên Siang is abundantly verified, for since 1871 the power of the priests has been greatly increased and the deeds of violence and robbery by the converts have become more numerous, because the magistrate believes all foreign nations bound to support those who create this "foreign party." It is indeed true as Mr. (Sir Thomas) Wade points out, that the Chinese Magistrate is more careful than ever of the life of the priest, —but not because the priest has behaved more honestly, but because the Chinese dread a war with Europe which they believe will be the result of a murdered priest, and which they fear may ultimately result from refusal to obey the priest. If there is murder of priest or convert, rest assured it is as much against the desire of the responsible magistrate, whatever his secret inclinations, as against that of any foreign power.

CONCLUSION.

Lest the foregoing be misunderstood let me say that I don't believe a foreigner capable of plundering the Chinese

in this manner,—whatever the Chinese say to the contrary: —secondly, that the foreigner is probably never informed of any case going on till the magistrate becomes a little factious and requires the presence of the priest to reduce him again to due submission; and thirdly, that the priest, though well aware there are cases in which it would be unsafe for members of his flock to be examined before witnesses, is rarely acquainted with the merits of any case in which he acts, but that he is the puppet pulled by his cleverer converts any way they please and deceived by any story they forge. This however does not in the least alter the political aspect of the question, for the name which is used is that of the priest, the power which is wielded is that of the priest; the name of the Chinese actor never occurring on any writ, and the power of that actor being *nil*. The priest is therefore guilty of the illegality of imprisoning and extortion in every instance, whether such illegal acts are known to him or not,—for he must either agree to the use of his name and seal in each individual case, or empower his subordinate to use them whenever he has any reason for their use. The priest may therefore be deceived by his subordinate, but he cannot shake off the responsibility of crimes, which, if not always done by himself directly, are always done under his authority.

I am far from desiring to see real converts fewer in number or priestly influence for good any other than greatly increased. But I do most emphatically protest against converting "the house of prayer" into "a den of thieves," or what the President of the United States calls "Ecclesiastical Asylums," and the exercise by the priests of a usurped political authority to which they have as little claim as in France or Germany and such as they never had in any

other country or age, for when the western magistrates had to carry out the behests of priests by faggot or fine, it was only when magistrate and people willed to have it so.

To recapitulate: the foreigner is hated in China. He is hated by Chinese, if possible, even more than by Manchus.* He is hated because he is feared; and feared because he is credited with designs upon the freedom of China. The only proof of these designs is the creation of a "foreign "party" in China, prepared by "Missionaries," who are supported by all foreign nations, especially by France, in defying Chinese law, in overruling Chinese magistrates, in shielding Chinese criminals and imprisoning the victims of those criminals. The preceding facts are proof sufficient that the Chinese have only too good reason for their belief.

The Manchu Government occupies a difficult position, as already noticed, and it requires no great keenness of vision to perceive that the fact that an unarmed foreigner in the remote corner of Szechuen or the wilds of Kirin can successfully support a native Chinaman in defying the law and outraging justice, is calculated to remove all respect for the weak Government, which permits such an intolerable state of matters. What is the REMEDY for this evil? The evil is itself a political not a religious one, it has political not religious issues, and the remedy must be consummated by the politician not by the missionary. And the sooner the politician sets to grappling with and removing the difficulty the better, for he will remove what is a disgrace to western civilisation, and what is irritating the Chinese people in every province so constantly and increasingly that murder is sure and consequent war probable. If France does indeed desire to annex

* In "*Celestial Empire*" 26th May, 1877, the following corroborating words occur: "the obstructive element is not to be found in the Imperial clan—it is to be found almost exclusively among the Chinese."

the whole or a portion of China and is eager to secure respectable "casus belli", she has only to permit the priests to pursue their present policy and order her ministers to cry "*pretendus abus*" whenever the Chinese complain, and in trial she will have "casus belli" sufficient. But I cannot believe that French policy has sunk so low, I would rather believe that her Government is unaware of the truth.

Address the priests to apply the remedy; they will stare at you; and in spite of the clearest evidence to the contrary they will tell you that they observe the Treaty with the most scrupulous care. Appeal to them to avoid future war by acting like honest men in renouncing titles which are a lie and power which is a falsehood, they will laugh at or revile you as a calumniator. They will not kill "the goose that "lays the golden eggs." Ask Messrs. Wade and Low to extricate the matter, they refer you to the French Minister and he in his turn replies "*pretendus abus*"! When the Chinese people feels the coils of a hostile and foreign power tightening round the throat of its national life, it regards the murder of the agents of this power as a meritorious deed, just as did every nation in Europe. Will this murder in detail or wholesale be regarded by the French Minister as "*pretendus* "*massacres*"? If not he should unite with the other ministers in preventing it.

The Remedy is not far to seek nor difficult of application. It is not, as Mr. Low affirmed it "is, with France alone." To whomsoever will be due the merit of pointing out the remedy, its application is with the Chinese magistrate alone, for no law will control the priest, when away from foreign eyes. In defiance of special legislation, in spite of Treaties, he will continue this course of conduct to the end, as he has done since 1860, unless the Chinese magistrate is plainly

informed of the publicly expressed professions of the western Powers, as contained in the above quotations.

All the Chinese Government desired, all the magistrate wants, is to have all Chinese people, without exception, subject to their native laws for all civil and political purposes.

Let then the Chinese Government know the honest truth, and widely as the Yamên proclamation has declared that all foreigners without exception are amenable only to the laws of their native land, so widely let it be known that Chinese subjects are amenable only to Chinese law, that all Chinese subjects irrespective of creed are amenable to these laws, and that no conversion to any creed affects the civil and political relations of a Chinese subject, the Gordian Knot is at once untied, not cut as otherwise it must be.

Let the politicians in power, interested in the preservation of peace, in the integrity and future prosperity of the Chinese empire and in the establishment of more cordial relations between her and the west, inform the Chinese magistrate that he can demand and compel the appearance before him, and the legal examination, of any Chinese-born subject, and that he will be in no danger of plunging his native country into war, or of losing his own position, for refusing to act as the turnkey of the priest, or opposing his unjust and illegal demands, for that he is bound by the written Treaty and not by the deceptive words of a priest. Then you will hear no more of the anomalous combination, "Opium and Mission-"aries." Let the priest be permitted to preach that the Pope cannot err, to argue and prove that canvass or even stone Madonnas can wink, that the bones of saints can cure nervous diseases. Let him convert all China if he can to believe in the propriety and benefit of kissing, bending before and making the sign of the cross or any other image. But,

let the Chinese magistrate know that the priest's magisterial stamp is a forged one, that his title is a false one, that his power is a usurped one. And the belief which moulds and has moulded Chinese foreign policy will cease; for when every Chinaman of whatever creed is subject to the laws of his own country, the belief in the desire of foreigners to enslave China, will disappear with its cause.

Sir Thomas Wade was incorrect in stating that the "hostility of the lettered class" was all, or even the larger proportion of, the danger roused by the conduct of the priests, but he is perfectly correct in stating that,—"Either the missionary must be supported out and out by the sword of the "protecting Powers, or he must be placed by the protecting "Powers under restrictions which will enable the Chinese "Government to declare to those whose conservatism chafes "at the present pretentions of the missionary, that he (the "missionary) is not authorized by the Power protecting him "to put forward the pretensions objected to". This can be done easily, and can be done only in the manner mentioned above, requiring neither revision of Treaties, nor months of telegraphic correspondence, but a straightforward statement of the true meaning of the existing Treaty. "There is", therefore, as Sir Thomas again says, "really no "need for modification of the Treaties in force", but there is the greatest need of an honest observance of them.

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